

The COMMONWEAL

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Church and State—State and State

MANY "color" stories from Vatican City report the physical difficulties in conducting affairs of that small sovereign state during war.

Two Great Problems

These material hardships are symbolic of the strain and hardship experienced by the Papacy throughout the world while leading the Church in a war time. The laity, hierarchy and clergy, citizens of nations, necessarily become involved to a large extent in the contests their countries are pursuing, and the Church in different countries is struck by the general disasters overwhelming those countries.

Belgium and France with their divided governments inevitably create enormous tensions. While the Belgian Ambassador to the Vatican represents the government of Belgium now exiled and at odds with the King, the Archbishop of Malines, Cardinal Van Roey, pleads for Leopold III: "He has not done any political act nor has he concluded any treaty or pact—even of a military nature—with the enemy. He has not, therefore, broken the Belgian constitution in any way whatsoever. . . . We desire that all Belgians, conscious of the seriousness of the present hour, remain united and firm around the King, supreme personification of the fatherland in danger."

The first report published in New York as a

quotation from *Osservatore Romano*, expressing the Holy See's support of the Pétain government of France, led Cardinal Hinsley, Archbishop of Westminster, to make this statement: "Recently a certain number of papers have quoted Vatican sources suggesting that the Holy Father himself has expressed his support of the Pétain government. Actually this expression is based on articles and thoughts which are not official. It is clear to us all that we are fighting the age-long struggle for the freedom of Christ and of Christianity against violence and tyranny. It is therefore my privilege to assert our undivided loyalty, both to our ancient Faith and to this, our native land." The United Press followed this up a few days later by wiring: "The Vatican has formally given its support to the new French totalitarian régime of Marshal Henri Pétain, it was stated in authoritative Vatican quarters tonight."

In the face of the confusing efforts to line the Vatican up on one side or the other of present international struggles, the Catholic press in this country is giving new emphasis to fundamental Catholic doctrine and policy. The problem, "Why Does God Permit War?" is examined again in the diocesan press, and over the radio, treating with new immediacy the subject Saint Augustine dealt with most classically at the beginning of the fifth century. A Vatican broadcast of June 30, picked up by CBS in New York, is likewise featured. It was a discourse on the Concordat with Portugal, as an example to teach Church-State relations, and pointed out that that country has "complete separation of Church and State." The Church asks of the State "the liberty of continuing to teach its doctrine." The Concordat "accorded no privilege to Catholics, lay or clerical, which fellow-citizens cannot claim with equal right." There is no "shred of evidence that the Church has designs on the political independence of a nation she has civilized. She does not propose to take over or even to protect any function that belongs to Caesar, whoever he may be." The speaker hoped that the Portuguese Concordat may help to lay ideas that "torment the dreams of many a super-patriot who busies himself on the subject of what he calls 'Vatican Politics.'"

The dealings of the Vatican with secular states are more serious and important than the dealings of another government, but they have been more completely worked out through the centuries, and they exist on a different and, in a way, more abstract and less difficult plane. The Church obviously cannot choose for states a temporal form of government to support or condemn. Whatever form of government a people establishes, it is the conformity of the government in action with natural and supernatural law which concerns the Papacy. An operating secular government, on the other hand, necessarily has a temporal form and organization which makes the structure of other

governments of great political importance, since their form will have an effect on itself. The rise of the dictator states has brought two problems of this kind. The relation of the Church to the dictatorships has to be carried to some tolerable solution. The relation of the dictatorships to non-dictator nations like our own has to be resolved. These are different questions and there are different considerations that must enter into work on each. Let us pray that men will find more means than only war and persecution in their effort to reach the historically necessary answers.

Opening the Way for the Children

IN RESPONSE to a very nearly unanimous public wish, the administration has acted to clear away all red tape in the admission

What about Ships? of child refugees from abroad. Originally, they were to have been classed as immigrants, subject to

quotas and to the severe restrictions imposed by our laws in the matter of maintenance guarantees. That would have automatically barred great numbers of precisely that social group which is most in need of help. It has therefore been determined, wisely and rightly, that refugee children may come in as visitors, and that a corporate guarantee may be given for the support of whole groups. Two other difficulties remain, one of which is of purely British concern, and the other of which we can help to dispel.

The first of these difficulties concerns the social classes involved in this mass migration. Very understandably, there has been much resentment among the English poor at the speed and ease with which the wealthy have been able to send their children out of danger. It is strange that this should not have been foreseen by British authorities, and forestalled by some provision of representative quotas from the very beginning. This is a matter of plain justice, in the first place; and, in the second, of intensely important practical bearing upon the country's civilian and military morale. However, it is not a matter for Americans to handle. But the other difficulty—that of transportation—is such a matter. The British have ships to put the children into, but not warships enough to spare for convoy. We have ample shipping to bring over as many children as the British will send; and we need no convoys. Our neutrality legislation would have to be amended to free our shipping for this errand of mercy; it should be so amended. No just or real reason appears against it. The outside chance that one of our ships thus engaged might be sunk by the Nazis, leaving us confronted by a "situation," should no more be regarded than danger is regarded in any mission of pure humanity. The contingency of attack is remote, if we mark our ships properly and inform the Reich government

plainly of what we are about. Meanwhile, can we respect ourselves if, after so many professions of compassion and helpfulness, we fail from panic to do the one thing that will make them practical?

First to Live; Then Live Democratically

THE PLAN of the National Defense Commission to expand TVA by a new \$25,000,000 dam and steam plant for warplane aluminum was blocked last week by three members of a House of Representatives subcommittee, despite pleas of urgency from Mr.

Stettinius in charge of material procurement for the Defense Commission. The latter insisted that immediate action was necessary in order to build the dam in time to catch the spring floodwaters of 1942. Representative McLean, Republican from New Jersey, contended that TVA was "with customary cupidity taking advantage of a situation to enlarge its own facilities and to hoodwink again Congress and the American people." The Defense Commission was able to parade support of former TVA enemies in favor of the new project, but the bill authorizing it remained blocked.

Apart from the merits of the issue, which seem definitely on the Commission's side, we have here an instance of many other similar problems bound to arise as America girds itself for a war economy and life amidst totalitarian nations. The National Defense Commission was instituted because of a general conviction that the very life of our nation is threatened. Yet adequate and speedy defense preparations demand abandonment of the leisurely democratic processes we prepare to defend. Manifestly many compromises are in order. To paraphrase a classic dictum: first we must live; then live democratically. But God spare us from a long siege of struggling to protect our bare life as a nation. We may lose the habit of democracy for want of exercising it. To be sure, the thirst for freedom will remain eternal in the nature of man, but the formation of institutions that protect and generalize the exercise of freedom is a long slow process. Apparently France will have to begin it over again. But the US too might have to begin again, even in the absence of a military defeat. Let us not forget the freedom we defend in the days that we sacrifice freedom to defend it.

The Far East and the World

IN A CLASSICAL appeasement effort to placate the Japanese, and telling the Chinese that it did not matter because the rains were coming, the British closed the Burma Road to traffic to China. But the peace by payment effort failed. And the answer to the British offer has been the constitution of a new, radically militarist Japanese cabinet. The attrac-

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tion produced by the success of the Axis was too powerful. The totalitarian drive for world power continues, but where at first it acted through accretion, the annexation one by one of neighboring states, it now acts at great distances through the instrument of identical régimes: by delegation of power it prepares a plan for the world.

Of course, what the non-totalitarian world is really basing its hopes upon is a belief, founded on human experience, that no conception of empire can be expanded indefinitely and still succeed. Things can be too big to work. We do not believe in supermen because they are a manner of Lucifers to humanity, and also because we have never seen them successful. The world is certainly one, and the totalitarians are correct in thinking that their system must affect the entire world if it is to be permanently successful in any one part of the world. But it is this very necessity for unlimited expansion, with the consequent unlimited tension needed for the carrying out of the plan, that we feel promises disaster for the attempt. Someone, somewhere, at some crucial moment, will be tired, someone will be drunk, with wine or arid intellectual pride as you choose, someone will fall in love—and the irreparable mistake will have been made. The nose of Cleopatra. The famous last quarter of an hour will come, not of heroic military resistance, but of the mental and spiritual equilibrium of the conqueror. It is a sad world when hope must lie chiefly in human frailty, but that it does justifies a certain Christian pessimism and indicates, too, that revolt from the wise knowledge of the limitations of man is at the source of our sorrows.

Ninety-Eight Percent Rented

IT TOOK OUR entry into the last war to get the federal government into housing, and it begins to appear that rearmament is now going to stimulate housing activity rather than retard it. A recent Department of Commerce report shows that this year, in a hundred selected cities, available dwelling units are ninety-eight percent rented, which is a dangerously high percentage. Other reports indicate that the new arms industries foresee trouble in getting personnel because of the shortage of adequate housing. This is made particularly acute by the fact that, for strategic reasons, the government will want these new industries decentralized. So we have the spectacle of bills before Congress authorizing increase in the capital of the USIA, not only for slum clearance but for "national defense."

All this raises one interesting question in connection with almost all our attempts to solve the housing problem. The tendency has been to center new housing projects where the demand already

exists—in crowded and slummy urban areas and in the suburbs surrounding these areas. Naturally city politicians and those whose interest lies in maintaining the value, however absurd, of city real estate would want the problem solved in terms as nearly as possible of the *status quo*. But would it not be better to think in terms of what is in the long run desirable, and is that not the ultimate disappearance of megalopolis? Surely if the federal government is to hold the money bags for housing, it could also exert pressure to break up the great cities and resettle people in a healthier, better distributed way. To do that arbitrarily or suddenly would be disastrous. But the direction ought to be there, and it hasn't been. Military necessity seems to have provided the driving force which social necessity could not supply, and that may inaugurate a welcome and happy change in American housing habits.

This Is a Sensible Summer

THESE are the months which normally produce what has come to be recognized as "silly season" news. Things are much soberer this year—the stern times may have toned down the exuberant folly of our race, or perhaps there has been too little hot weather to be really relaxing. And still, a potpourri of far-flung items does not lack the flavor of pleasant fantasy. Thus, five famous little girls of North Bay, Ontario, have been able, by industry and thrift—among other measures, they auctioned off their old toys—to contribute upward of twelve thousand dollars to the British cause. It is perhaps not fair to cite political convention news; yet the *mot* of a New York Republican State Committeeman, conveyed by wire to Mr. Farley, should not go unnoted: "Why write a party platform? You have two unused ones already." Then, too, there is Mr. Elliott Roosevelt, delegate from Texas and instructed for Mr. Garner. British-Japanese strife is a draw in one way—rice is rationed in the tearooms of Nippon and tea in the drawing rooms of England. On the other hand, Soviet wine-tasters are rebuked for tasting too much; they organize collective parties for the work, which are said to cost the USSR about \$400,000 a year. Sculpture enters politics equally through the Indian leftist who tried to demolish the British monument at the Black Hole of Calcutta, and the nazis who are casting dirty looks at the Cavell statue in Paris. At Versailles they are said to go further. In the Hall of Mirrors, scene of the "iniquitous peace," they deliberately stomp and click all day long, making the floors shake. And *Punch* has warned the Italians not to re-sink British ships already sunk by their Axis partner.

Subdued
Flashes

Another
Bottleneck

Were They Wrong

Democracy permits a search for truth,
but men have to supply all the answers.

By C. G. Paulding

WERE THEY WRONG, the men in France, who refused to say that their political activity, their search to perfect democracy, their insistence on freedom had reality only in times of peace, meant really nothing at all in time of danger? Were they wrong not to have joined in a united front of all parties in order to prepare for war? Were they wrong in refusing to say monarchy does not matter, nor the commune of the future? Were they wrong not to have waged a preventive war years ago saying international morality is only something in a book? I do not think they were wrong: I think they were admirable.

France has fallen. But no one lets it go at that. The word France means too much to us all. There was something in France we feel we have lost. There was something the enemy recognized in France and claims to have destroyed. That quality in France was spiritual intelligence: it was active for good and for bad: the form, the name to which it gave and still will give life, was democracy. That freedom and intensity of action for good and for evil is the body over which a malevolent burial service is being read while apes chatter and scream.

The fact from which everyone starts is this: France which before the war was in a state of democratic confusion of purpose, permitted that confusion to persist after the war had started, and for this reason, although there may have been others, France lost the war. That confusion of purpose is attributed by the Germans and by the fascists to democracy; by others not to democracy but to an assumed French stupidity, or venality, or decadence. The Germans and the Italians rejoice in the failure of French democracy because they are determined to attack democracy wherever it exists and here is a place where their attack has advanced one step in a general process. The attitude in America for instance is not the same. We say that French democracy has failed and we use the adjective French because we feel that it is essential to attribute to a special corruption a failure which thus we localize and isolate. We do this because we still believe in the democratic system in general and are proud of it in particular as happily applied by us. We still think in terms of nations

and we still believe in the possibility of local success and failure. So that, if we can with difficulty deny that pre-war French policy and French political life existed in a climate of democracy, at least now we can attribute the French failure to some peculiar local misuse or perversion of the democratic principle. Thus traitors and inefficiency and indifference become even more important than were German tanks and planes and numbers as factors of defeat.

How the French lost the war will be indeed an interesting chapter in history but it is not a matter for immediate discussion: we have not the elements for that discussion. It is not enough for American correspondents to go to Spain and cable all the information the censorship kept them from transmitting while they were still in France. That does not suffice to write a "War and Peace." What the correspondents saw, in fact, was disorganization; what they denounce was treachery on the part of the French fascists; what they forget is that in the last war there was also disorganization, also discontent with British assistance and the suspicion of being used, also treachery, and furthermore immense and justified discouragement and, in 1917, outright mutiny. And yet the French, and of course the British, Italians and Americans, with others forgotten, won the war. This writer may have an over simple mind: until further notice he thinks the Germans planned and carried out a brilliant campaign with immensely superior forces and this time won the war in France—as last time they nearly won the war—in a few weeks. Whatever on the French side helped them win the war was incidental. Defeat is always accompanied by collapse and the magnitude of the collapse is proportionate to the violence of the shock which produced it. There was therefore a military defeat which can be accounted for in military terms and, after this and because of this, a defeat of that free pre-war democratic activity which will now be discussed.

If it is obvious that Germany planned for offensive action and France at most for resistance, it is also clear that in Germany preparation for this offensive grew out of and coexisted with a doctrine of expansion and force. But in France, men of every opinion were still engaged in seeking a solution to the problem of how best to live in

human society and as they had not come to an agreement and as no solution had been imposed on them, there was no French dynamism. What the French sought was to ensure a certain degree of security from what they justly feared, a German aggression. But what they planned for defense depended entirely on what they planned for their own life. The plans for defense were as varied and contradictory as were the plans for the internal organization and direction of French life. Foreign policy and even military policy were as fragmentary as were divided and chaotic the projects for social reform. Free men were selfish men, and devoted men, and men who believed in non-resistance, and men who believed in revolution, and men who believed in capitalism, and such a coexistence of disparate opinion is democracy.

French democracy

For democracy is not served simply by the acceptance of 1789 or of any other admirable statement of the past: it lives only if there is freedom to act in regard to contemporary conditions. Nor, to take an American instance, is tolerance of the intellectual mediocrity of such a document as the Republican platform produced in Philadelphia indicative of anything save of an indifference to government policy which may be possible, though only for a short time longer, in a country where government, for years, has been of secondary interest to business. Democracy has always appeared most acceptable where it is inoperative and where the problems are not being faced. The opposite is true too: where, as in France, men realize that all government policy must be checked and influenced and directed by citizens, since that policy leads to or away from the greatly differing ideals of the society they seek, then, from a totalitarian point of view, you have impotence, contradiction and constant shift in policy—with men pulling this way and that way—but from the point of view of the search for truth you have democracy at its best. There was, before the war, in France, a sense of the spiritual importance of every governmental act incomparably superior in sensitiveness to the condition prevailing in any other democracy.

Such a condition, in the sphere of politics, makes for the grandeur of the reasoning human being: it characterizes specifically a people who consider government an instrument subordinated to their will and who will not allow it to run on the momentum of past authority. But where such an attitude toward government exists and if there is confusion of purpose—and conflict is inescapable in a living democracy—then there will be paralysis in government. I raise here and do not attempt to solve the whole problem of authority.

In France there was confusion of purpose for

all the baser reasons of the greed of organized class groups, and that is a state of affairs which will be found in any country. There was also the confusion and paralysis created by the conflicting theories and aims of political groups. These groups were numerous because France still had that which America possessed in the early formative years: politics based on philosophical conceptions of society, doctrinaire politics arising from the doctrines of political philosophy. The effect of this intellectual origin of political opinion was that the political expressions of doctrines were irreconcilable. Above cheap and universally known political jobbery and ambitions there was a stratum where concessions could not be made because faith was involved. Nothing in politics was effected without there being a relationship, deliberately accepted and intelligently understood, between the act—a law, the appointment of an official, the reform of the university—and a planned and defined future state of society. The French understood that every act gives form and shape to the future. The trouble was that there existed no blue print of the future acceptable to a working majority of French opinion and parties. There was chaos because the French would accept no majority save one formed by persuasion. That, I maintain, is honorable, intelligent and democratic, and the fact of French physical defeat by the power of a nation inspired by a different conception of life does not change my opinion.

Nothing, then, was acceptable simply on the ground that it might work, a great many measures were adopted because, whether or not they might work, clearly they were measures which were called for and which implemented the political philosophy of the men and of the party who were able to secure their adoption. The worst politicians thought in terms of doctrine, even if in terms of dead doctrine, even if only with a half remembered bitterness attached to a half remembered conflict of past years and with a political aim that related to the society of the past and not to that of the future. But the finer men and the younger men thought in terms of doctrine too, and their doctrines, conflicting and mutually exclusive, represented the most intelligent and the most generous political thinking of our times. There was in France as there is everywhere a problem to be solved which has not been solved in that country nor anywhere else. The problem set was that of how men can live in justice, sharing equitably the resources of this world, freed, through compensation for their work, to develop their human capacities to the greatest extent, to the minds of many to an illimitable extent since the effort toward perfection was not limited to this life or to this world. In Christian terms to bring about a condition in this world which would not remain indefinitely incompatible to the will

of God. It was because of the intensity with which the French sought a solution to the problem of life in society—and I think of such conflicting efforts as those of Maritain, Gide, Maurras, and the efforts of the communist, liberal and conservative parties—that they were unable to accept a compromise which would have given them national unity.

Why were the French more actively engaged in this research than are, say, Americans? In the first place because of their long experimentation with all forms of government, their widespread education in political philosophy, the educated and intelligent quality of their political personnel. And in the second place because of the pressure, both ideological and material, brought to bear upon them by the proximity of the German system, with its Spanish and Italian satellites, the Russian system acting through a powerful French communist party, and the British system with its persistent liberalism and its stubborn reminder that the nineteenth century, with its not negligible hopes and practice, was not yet dead. The French had experience with all the old forms, the new forms were presented to them more vividly than anywhere else, and it was therefore in France among men who still were free that the choice as to the future was best presented for debate.

The fact that this debate was not carried to a conclusion, the fact that it can no longer be carried on within the limits of France as an independent nation, does not erase the efforts that were made and does not shame the men who made them. If the totalitarian theory and practice were ever considered by free men to be false, their triumph in action does not prove them true except to slaves. The debate which was being carried on in France is still there to be carried on by the men of Europe and of the world until a solution be reached. The techniques and ideals that were being evolved in France are now submerged in a Europe devoted to one ideal and one technique and both are false. But the work that was done by the French remains for Germans and Italians and Europeans to rediscover. The solution of the problem was not reached: it will never now be reached and carried into action by one nation alone. In time Europeans will take up the great search for truth again.

Bastille Day

The angry dismissal by the world of the men who tried and failed blends now with a superior pity for men who were foolish enough to take their politics seriously and not disavow their hopes when danger came. I write this on a holiday which this year can be celebrated only by thinking of the dead. The Fourteenth of July. The dead liberty of France which was destroyed because it was free. I write to have some words on

paper somewhere which do not repudiate the régime and the climate of France before the war, which are faithful to the men who struggled to preserve or to alter that régime. It was the struggle that counted. France felt the sombre attraction of communism and there were even men who sought to save their wealth through fascism—or who believed in fascism—but France gave way neither to the one nor to the other. And France felt to a greater degree than did perhaps any other modern nation the effects of Catholic social thinking and action, yet France did not become Catholic. Because it is difficult enough for a man alone to think and act as a Catholic and there have to be a great many men thinking and acting as Catholics before one can talk of a Catholic country or even conceive such an entity. But the revolution of 1789 had freed the Church from identification with a governmental régime: anti-clericalism had driven away the mists that hide priests from men's eyes. Catholic thought was free to become, and it became, a major element in the struggle. I am faithful to a régime which admitted the logical necessity of conflict enduring until, as a preliminary condition for unity, the people of France could accept freely a common philosophy of life, a régime which paid the price for that spiritual and intellectual honesty. I am faithful to a people who would not abdicate their search for truth in exchange for safety or power. They tried hard to abdicate: they were human and not all Robespierres: but their traitors were unsuccessful. And some words of fidelity are necessary at this time because what there was in France was the dignity of the human person and the totalitarian state seeks to destroy that dignity. But, in the end, this will not be killed by that.

Refugees

With wistful friendliness they come to seek a freer breathing land, turning for sanctuary from the horrors they cannot understand.

Their words, in our new tongue, are slow: "I loved my country, it was dear. Those are not good roads that men go in old lands, roads of hate and fear."

How quickly tired dreams rise and live at our bright towers and candid spaces! It is no hard thing we must give to waken song in their sad faces:

only that we should not forget but sing with them of liberty and pay to them, in part, the debt still owed, our fathers' God, to Thee.

RUTH EVELYN HENDERSON.

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Juan Luis Vives

On May 6, 1540, Vives died. After 400 years, what does his thought offer us?

By Ernst Karl Winter

THE ANNIVERSARY of Vives is more than an academic affair. His social philosophy has some very modern aspects which justify our interest in his thought. But his seeming modernity is by no means due to his entire break with the medieval world but, on the contrary, to a new revival of its basic elements. Thus Vives is an example of that Catholic continuity which is the very soul of Western civilization.

To interpret Vives as social philosopher means primarily to see him within the framework of the Spanish-Austrian world empire of Charles V on which the sun never set. The two Habsburgs, Charles V and Ferdinand I; the Dominicans, Bartolomé de Las Casas, Francisco de Vitoria and Domingo de Soto; the Jesuits, Ignatius Loyola, Francis Xavier and Francis Borgia, were those whose shoulders bore up this empire politically, intellectually and religiously. They were medieval souls but modern spirits. Sometimes their bold and daring endeavors seemed best symbolized by Don Quixote, the last knight, who stood for a lost cause if, indeed, he did not fight against phantoms. Sometimes quixotism seemed to turn into the old European madness, when emperor and king met each other in the battle of Pavia and the German lansquenets of the Roman Emperor burned and pillaged papal Rome, while the Turks besieged Vienna and Luther intoxicated the German nation. Nevertheless, there were enough men who did not lose direction in the midst of such confusing events and who proved it by participating in endeavors decisive for the future of civilization. Such an endeavor was the defense of Vienna against the Turks in 1529, perhaps (after the union of Austria, Bohemia and Hungary under the minor branch of the Habsburgs in 1526) one of the most momentous for the next four hundred years of European history.

Of all these happenings Vives was not only a contemporary, but he was very near to their heart. The center of the Spanish-Austrian empire was neither Spain nor Austria, but the remnants of Burgundy at that time called Flanders, today, Belgium. Burgundy in the later Middle Ages was ruled by a splendid dynasty, whose heir Charles V was proud to be. Thus he was neither a Spaniard, like his mother, nor an Austrian, like his father, but the heir of Burgundy, like the mother of his

father, the descendant of Charles the Bold. Flanders was the very heart of the Carolingian empire and Flanders became the chosen fatherland of Vives after he had left his native Valencia at the age of 17. His main works were conceived in Flanders between Bruges, where he married and died, and Louvain, where he lectured.

But Vives did not belong only to the empire of Charles V. By his friendship with Budaeus, Erasmus and Thomas More he belonged to the intellectual republic of Europe. This school of Christian humanism was characterized by three elements: a tinge of lay feeling (although there were enough clergymen among them), a tendency to Platonism as against Aristotelianism and to Augustinianism as against Scholasticism.

Vives of his own accord seems to have reacted against Aristotelianism. In his first philosophical writing, "In pseudo-dialecticos" (1519), published when he at the age of 27 completed his studies at Paris, there is already both a precise knowledge of Aristotle and a sharp criticism of Aristotelianism. More praised this work very highly in a letter to Erasmus, who wrote to Budaeus that he too was completely satisfied, only "the expression should be less hard." Vives stuck to the line of this earlier work throughout his life. One of his last philosophical writings, "De causis corruptarum artium" (1531), still maintains the same criticism. Vives objects to the theology of Aristotle, that God is "forma pura" instead of divine personality, and he criticizes the formalism of Aristotelian ethics, the virtues of which are ruled by the golden middle way of mediocrity instead of the clear-cut decision between good and evil. The idea of decision instead of compromise is one of the basic elements of his thought. In his earlier work Vives is still inclined to argue with the "true" Aristotle against his barbarian misinterpreters. But in his later work he reproaches Aristotle himself, who had forgotten that dialectics is only an instrument. Scholasticism also is criticized for going so far as to prefer the dreams of Aristotle to the Christian faith, rather than following the doctrine of Plato or that of the Stoics, who have so many things in common with Christianity.

This critique of Aristotelianism was obviously the reason that Erasmus invited Vives to publish

Augustine's "City of God" in his edition of the Christian Fathers. Augustine was the theologian of both the humanists and the reformers, while there were Scholastics who preferred Aristotle to him. Vives dedicated his edition and commentary of the "City of God" (Bâle, 1522) to Henry VIII, who thanked him in a polite letter. In his commentary Vives criticized former commentators, attacked the excesses of the cults of saints and relics and asked for a general council. Erasmus was not edified by this radicalism; so he left out the commentary in his second edition of Augustine (1529), while Vives in his second edition of the "City of God" (Paris, 1531) eliminated the former praise of Erasmus.

It would be very unjust to regard Vives as favoring the Reformation in any way. He was a type like Thomas More, a Catholic layman living in a Catholic family. When Vives became a professor at Corpus Christi College, Oxford (1523), he was 31, More 45 years of age. Vives was a frequent guest in the home where More, his wife, son, daughter-in-law, three daughters and their husbands lived together. Erasmus writes of this family: "There is no man living so loving with his children as he is. He loved his old wife as if she were a young maid. You would say his house was Plato's Academy. I should rather call it a school or university of Christian religion." Esteem for family life drew Vives and More together. In his books "De institutione feminae Christianae" (1523), dedicated to Queen Catherine of England, and "De officio mariti" (1528), dedicated to the young Francis Borgia, the later Jesuit general and saint, Vives explains his idea of family life and family education as the basic elements of Christian society. In this respect there was a certain relationship between More, Vives and Luther. But unlike Luther, the two Christian humanists had a sacramental conception of the Christian family. Luther denied the sacramental nature of Christian matrimony; for Vives and More the marriage between Henry VIII and Catherine became the touchstone of their religious convictions.

Catherine was the aunt of Charles V and a compatriot of Vives. When after 17 years of wedded life the divorce case arose just during Vives's stay in England (1523-28), he took the part of the queen. In two later letters he tells us of her tragedy. In a letter to the king himself (1531), Vives recommended as the only honest way out the choice of a good son-in-law for Mary Tudor, who had been his pupil. Vives published two writings on this matter in 1527 and 1531, in which he stood for the right of Catherine, for him not only the right of the aunt of his emperor-king, but the right of sacramental matrimony too. At that time Erasmus cynically wrote to him that he did not want to be mixed up in the quarrel of Jupiter

and Juno, but that he would rather give two Junos to Jupiter than to take one of them away from him. It was Henry's original idea too to get a papal dispensation for bigamy, and this idea was supported by some Scholastics (like the Dominican Cardinal Cajetan), who taught that the polygamy of the Old Testament was not against the natural law and who concluded from this doctrine that the pope may be entitled to dispense from bigamy if greater evils are thereby to be avoided. But while Pope Clement VII finally refused any temptation of this kind, Luther followed this advice in conceding legal bigamy to his partisan, Landgrave Philip of Hesse. Thus Rome may have sinned by weakness during the English affair (1527-31), hoping for any settlement by accommodation, but finally the pope stood firm for a moral principle, while Henry VIII and Luther formulated a new principle opposite to the Christian tradition.

Social ideas

Already in those years, when Vives lived in Oxford and Louvain, he wrote the most interesting of his social writings, "De subventionem pauperum sive de humanis necessitatibus," dedicated to the Consuls and the Senate of Bruges (1526). The idea of this work is the municipal organization of poor relief. It is the first modern scheme of this kind. Vives's view was that poverty is no virtue, but an evil, that poverty has to be diminished, begging has to be abolished, and that charity includes not only financial support but also education. Organization of poor relief is a matter of the civil authority. "Just as in a wealthy house it were a disgrace for the father of the family to allow any to hunger, or to go naked, or to be disgraced by rags, so it is not seemly that in a city by no means needy the magistrates should permit any citizens to be harassed by hunger and poverty." In no state can "the poorer members be neglected without danger to the powerful ones." With justice do the poor complain "that the rich have a superabundance to enable them to maintain buffoons, dogs, mistresses, mules, horses and elephants, while they for their part have not enough food for their hungry little children."

The model state for Vives is the social democracy of Athens as pictured by Isocrates, whom he had edited and translated (1523). It is the ancient *polis* which determines the Renaissance state of Vives. "Nobody can remove his property from the oversight and control of the state, unless he gives up his citizenship, since everyone has acquired his property with the help of the state, as if it were a gift, and can keep and hold it only through the help of the state." It is the function of the state to be interested in the social problem. "For they have no conception of the duty of a government who wish to limit it to the

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settling of disputes over money or to the punishment of criminals. On the contrary, it is much more important for the magistrates to devote their energy to the producing of good citizens than to the punishment and restraint of evil-doers." After supervising the hospitals, the poor at home and vagabond beggars, the function of the city is to provide jobs. "Workshops will not be lacking in which all these people can be employed. The wool weavers of Armentières and, indeed, most manufacturers, are complaining of the scarcity of hands. The silk weavers of Bruges would hire a certain number of boys merely to turn some winders." Also blind men, invalids and aged should be employed. "For no one is so enfeebled as to have no power at all for doing something." Obviously, the economic situation of Flanders favored the solution which Vives proposed. Nevertheless, the social principles of his scheme are not only adapted to a prosperous economy. "It is not to be tolerated in a city, I will not say in a Christian community, but in any other as long as it is a community of human beings, that some should be so wealthy that they can lavish thousands of pounds on their tombs, or on a tower, or pretentious buildings, or on a banquet, or public gifts, while for the sake of fifty or a hundred florins others are forced to endanger a girl's chastity, or an honest man's life and health, or to desert their wives and young children." And knowing Charles V well, Vives adds: "I doubt not that the Prince would be just as well pleased, or even a little better, if he were welcomed with less display, provided he knew for what good purposes that money was being spent which used to be poured forth at his coming. And if he did not take it in good part, he would indeed be childishly and foolishly conceited or silly."

Vives himself foresaw certain difficulties for his scheme coming from the mendicant orders. "There are some would-be theologians," he says, "who cite the passage from the Gospel, with no thought of the connection in which it was spoken, in which Christ our Lord prophesied: The poor always ye will have with you." This quotation only proves that Christ "knew our stupidity through which we sink into poverty," but does not prohibit the organized struggle against it. On the contrary, "we act like the medical profession, which cannot eradicate diseases completely from among men, but which bends every effort to cure them." The Dominicans originally endorsed the new method, but after some years all four mendicant orders maintained "that the whole thing smacks of heresy." The Sorbonne as court of appeal in this controversy between the municipal authority and the mendicant orders decided in favor of the new system, and so did Charles V (1531).

If we call Vives's system state socialism or municipal socialism, we have to take into account

that this municipalism was an entirely medieval affair, approved by many Scholastics themselves. This socialism presupposed the existence of private property and civil authority, although it subjugated the one to the other. Any ideological communism was very far away from Vives, as his last sociological writing, "De communione rerum ad Germanos inferiores" (1535), proves.

Because of this equilibrium between revolutionary ideas in philosophy and conservative ones in religion, progressive ideas in social reform and conservative ones in defending civilization against the social disintegration which was the consequence of religious revolution, Vives represents a European type existing from the fifteenth century down to our own age, combining social progressivism with religious conservatism. It is the occidental type of thought in which both the Catholic Church and Western civilization live side by side. The anti-occidental type, represented during the generation of Vives by Henry VIII and Luther, combines on the contrary religious revolution and social reaction. From this negative point of view, both Catholicism and Occidentalism are the expression of one and the same error. Vives, who demanded, as against the pseudo-dialecticians of his age, a clear decision between good and evil, is the classical antagonist of that ideological tradition which links Luther and Hegel. Against Luther's "bondage of the will," which destroys the distinction between good and evil, already Erasmus, who was rather indulgent and cowardly by nature, reacted by his solemn confession of "the liberty of the will." Jakob Boehme, the *philosophicus teutonicus*, who is the bridge between Luther and Hegel, tells us of the *mysterium magnum*, in which good and evil originate together. Hegel, the final culmination of this line of thought, not only coined the famous sentence that "all existing is reasonable," but also the other one that "good and evil are inseparable," referring not only to the moral compromise between good and evil, but also to the logical one between "Yes" and "No." In the meantime, three generations since Hegel have experienced the historic transfer of abstract dialectics into concrete politics.

By discerning the spirits of two hemispheres of thought and life, Vives was one of those men, rare not only in his age, who were able to withstand a double temptation: on the one hand, the temptation to betray the West because of its sins, to surrender Christianity because of the pope, and on the other hand, the temptation to betray reform because of the revolution, to leave the rank of Humanism because of the Reformation. This is exactly our position in this age too. We have to stick to Western civilization in spite of its errors and we have to further the idea of progressive reform in spite of its revolutionary caricature.

Hotels for the Scorned

Catholic Youth Organization Hotels deal with the problem of parolee rehabilitation.

By Joseph A. Bailey

SOCIETY has provided places of detention for the juvenile delinquent, but has made no effort to provide means of adjustment to society following his release on parole. Bear in mind that parole is the continuation of modified punishment; parole deals with criminals undergoing punishment.

In previous years, the parole system of the state of Illinois has been the subject of vituperative attacks by the press. Isolated failures have been highly publicized. What else could come out of these press onslaughts but a public aversion to the responsibilities of parole sponsorship, with the ultimate result of a non-cooperative society, fearful of the entire parole system?

As a result, the prisons of Illinois became overcrowded with inmates eligible and deserving of parole. Young men who had been granted parole were serving unnecessary time behind prison bars. They could not obtain a sponsor, home or employment. In 1937, the various prison officials and members of the parole board, acting as a commission appointed by Governor Horner, determined to seek out an agency or agencies that might interest themselves in behalf of these friendless men and boys.

Ten years ago an energetic young Catholic Bishop, the Most Reverend Bernard J. Sheil, founded the Catholic Youth Organization of Chicago. Its purpose was to present a program of recreation and social service to the boys and girls of Chicago. The motivating impulse behind the founding of this organization seems to have been the experience of Bishop Sheil while chaplain at the Cook County Jail in the earlier years of his priesthood. Since its inception in 1930, the CYO has grown to a membership of well over two hundred and fifty thousand.

It was to Bishop Sheil that the parole commission turned. The account of the youthful prisoners at Pontiac, Joliet and Menard fell on sympathetic ears. Reformation? Rehabilitation? Surely it could be done. It *must* be done!

What goes on now

That was three years ago. Since early 1938, under the auspices of the Catholic Youth Organization of Chicago, an effective method for the rehabilitation of the forgotten parolee has been

put into operation. Bishop Sheil has quietly but determinedly forged a connecting link between the parolee and society. His sudden emergence into society under parole without social readjustment soon drives him back into the old familiar haunts of criminal companions. Eventually the majority of the boys become confirmed criminals. To counteract this deplorable but understandable situation, Bishop Sheil has developed the present program of rehabilitation through effective guidance during a year's residence at the Catholic Youth Organization Hotels.

These wayward boys, victims of the depression years, who had resorted to robbery and burglary to combat depression finances, had served three years or more in prison with good conduct. They were eligible for parole, had been granted parole, but in the absence of the three Illinois State Pardon Board requirements necessary for release were being detained months and even years past their release date in prison. It is required by the State of Illinois that before a parolee be released from prison he have a sponsor to vouch for his conduct, a job consistent with the standard set up by the Parole Board, and that he reside in a home atmosphere conducive to corrective growth in character. Although the boys frantically endeavored to obtain employment by means of outside contacts, unemployment problems were much too acute outside prison walls to warrant the employment of boys of dubious integrity. Most of these boys came from homes to which the Parole Board refused to return them; the others could find no one with whom to share a home-life.

Bishop Sheil in December, 1937, appointed the Reverend Leon V. Czyl as Resident Director of CYO Hotels. The Catholic Youth Organization provided the parolee employment and residence at the Hotels. Father Czyl assumed the responsibility of the personal sponsorship of these boys.

The hotels

The original purpose of the CYO Hotels was to care for the homeless young men of Chicago, probationers from St. Charles juvenile home and transients. When the federal agencies, the CCC, the NYA and the WPA, began to absorb the transient population, the way was made clear for the present purpose of the CYO Hotels.

By June, 1938, the CYO Hotels occupied the unique position of being the only institution in the United States to devote itself to the exclusive problem of the rehabilitation, sponsorship and employment of parolees between the ages of eighteen to twenty-six years.

Since the inception of this parolee policy, the methods and procedure of acceptance, rehabilitation and employment of the parolee has evolved into the present system.

Three regulations were made for parolees by the Catholic Youth Organization:

1. Those accepted must spend the first year of their three-year parole in residence at the CYO Hotels.
2. They would be given jobs, either working at the Hotels or outside.
3. At the end of the one-year residence, a new parole sponsor must be found by the parolee himself for the remaining two years of his parole.

During the past three years over fourteen hundred appeals have been made to Father Czyl on the behalf of overdue parolees. In most instances, the desire for sponsors and employment was paramount. Appeals were made directly at the Hotels by relatives or by friends of the prison inmate. Nine hundred cases have been investigated, answered and acted on by Father Czyl.

One hundred and thirty-seven appeals have been accepted by the CYO Hotels in all this time; of these, eighty-one have finished their first year's probationary residence at the Hotels and are completing or have finished their two years' parole on the outside. Forty-six boys are resident in the Hotels at this writing. In addition, Father Czyl has sponsored but not given residence or employment to twenty-seven boys, who were placed outside of the Hotels on his personal responsibility.

All of the parolees accepted by the CYO Hotels were given a series of personal interviews before selection and before the parole papers were signed. Their prison conduct records were carefully analyzed; their attitude toward reformation, society, God and their fellow-men were noted. Regardless of their creed, nationality or race, they were welcomed to the Hotels on the fulfillment of conditions required for their entry. Once admitted to the Hotels, the social worker makes a survey of their personal history, education and background for continued reference throughout the year. The medical report from the prison is verified and checked by the doctor in charge of the Catholic Youth Center. No boy is admitted who has an infectious disease. The average age of the boys now resident in the Hotels is twenty-two; their average time in prison is three years and eight months.

High standards of home life are maintained under the constant supervision of Father Czyl, the two Viatorian Brothers who assist him, and

the social worker. For an observational period of one month, the new parolee is allowed no privileges. This is done so that a gradual acclimation to the new freedom may take place. During this period, his habits, character and conduct are studied for future reference in monthly parole readjustment conferences. A file is kept on each boy, containing one small photograph, his prison record, mental health report, classification report and case history of the background and conditions resulting in the crime for which he had been sentenced. The files are augmented with information supplied by penal agencies, Parole Board correspondence and employment record.

The parolee is required to keep regular hours, to arise at six a.m. and to retire at ten-thirty p.m., except on the weekly pass night when midnight is the deadline. After breakfast, each boy must make his bed, care for his clothing and do his share of work about the buildings. The general labor of the Hotels is carried on by the parolees.

Those parolees who are employed on outside jobs are exempt from general house maintenance. They pay one-fourth of their earnings as room and board and are encouraged to save a portion of their wages. The money paid in for their board and room is placed in a petty cash fund from which allowances are given to the unemployed parolees for miscellaneous expenditures. Father Czyl makes personal contact with business men of Chicago to acquaint them with the purpose of the CYO Hotels.

The threefold plan of the CYO Hotels is to make the parolee a self-supporting member of society, to imbue him with a sense of responsibility toward the society he wronged and to create within him the mental readjustment of complete cooperation with society. Every effort is made to achieve this result in each case.

Weekly civic and religious instructions are given by the Viatorian Brothers. Whenever possible, volunteer outside instructors give lectures in vocational guidance and personality adjustment. One phase that is not neglected and forgotten in the lives of the parolees is religion. In order to reach the goal of reformation, the approach must be spiritual—necessarily a deep and profound appreciation of their duties toward God and their fellow-men.

The Illinois parole laws require that supervision of the parolee be strict. Residents are not permitted to roam promiscuously. Departure from the Hotels and return is permitted only upon receipt of a pass given by Father Czyl, and residents must check in on their return to the Hotels. Each parolee upon leaving the Hotel for the day is given a pass indicating the time of departure, the place departed for and the hour of the expiration of permission. The pass gives notice that the bearer is a parolee, a resident of the CYO Hotels

under the direction of Father Czyl, and is signed by him. In this manner, a check is kept upon every movement of the parolee. Any return to the Hotels after the allotted hour is considered a violation and the parolee is punished by revocation of privileges for an indeterminate period.

A heterogeneous group

As a result of the lack of rigid rules regarding admission (there is no restriction on nationality or creed) a heterogeneous group is obtained. In religion they vary from Catholic, Methodist, Lutheran and Episcopalian to Greek Orthodox, Christian Scientist and several who profess no creed. Nationalities represented are amazingly conglomerate: Irish, Polish, German and Italian predominate in a group also including French, English, Slovak, Croatian, Roumanian. Educationally they range from none to completion of high school. Nevertheless, despite the differences among them, they are united by the common bond of loyalty to Father Czyl, who sponsored them.

Take the case of George B., who at the age of nineteen was sentenced to Pontiac prison, one year to life, for burglary of a farmhouse. George is a white boy of native Illinois stock whose father died when he was nine years old. His mother was unable to support him so he was placed under the supervision of the Illinois Children's Home and Aid Society. George had had infantile paralysis which left him with curvature of the spine, dislocation of the hips and peculiar muscular atrophies. He is unable to perform manual labor.

George lived in various foster homes until he was nearly nineteen. He then ran away and began to make his living by petty thievery and begging. While bumming his way to Chicago in lower Illinois, he passed the open door of a farmhouse, which he entered. He stole two oranges. He then attempted to drive a parked car in the yard, but owing to his physical condition he was unable to control it and wrecked the car before leaving the yard. He was caught and immediately sentenced to Pontiac from one year to life.

At Pontiac Prison his psychological examination showed superior intelligence. The Army Alpha test scored him at A-136 with inadequate personality. At the prison he studied secretarial subjects and became one of the institutional clerks. It was in that capacity that Father Czyl met him on one of his visits to the prison. George was released on parole to Father Czyl at the age of twenty-two and is now a resident at the CYO Hotels, employed as secretary to the staff. At the Hotels it was discovered that he possessed remarkable pianistic talent. He is now studying under one of the most eminent of Chicago musicians.

George has professed no religious creed, although he attends Sunday Mass in the Chapel.

His is the quiet, introverted personality. Intrinsically, there is no badness in George. His physical condition and his unfortunate adolescent environment had created a chaotic confusion of mind resulting in his incarceration. The home life of the CYO Hotels, the sympathetic understanding and personal interest taken in him have gradually changed his outlook toward society. In his seven months' residence at the Hotels, marked improvement has been observed.

And the case of Henry R., who was sentenced to Pontiac at the age of seventeen for burglary of a dwelling. Henry is a Polish boy of second generation who was born in an organized home in which there was a constant cultural conflict between Polish customs and American interests. He was raised in a deteriorated neighborhood characterized by numerous delinquent gangs. He frequently ran away from home because of physical punishment by his parents. Before his incarceration, he had had a continuous history of truancy and petty behavior difficulties. He was several times placed under juvenile probation for minor offenses, such as stealing and selling a bicycle. Although he graduated from the eighth grade, according to the formal psychological tests at Pontiac he possessed a low average intelligence.

Upon release to the CYO Hotels on parole to Father Czyl, he immediately showed a cocky, impetuous and egotistical character. For the first few months of his residence, because of his aggressive mannerisms, he became the self-appointed leader of the parolee residents. It took time, patience, and perseverance to tone down his truculent attitude toward society in general. He left the Hotels in May, 1940, and is now living with his mother in Chicago. His impetuosity and cocky attitude has developed into self-confidence. He is now self-supporting, self-reliant and more cooperative with his family and employer.

George and Henry are but two of the one hundred and thirty-seven boys Father Czyl has sponsored for parole. These boys are not confirmed criminals, but without a responsible attitude taken toward them, they might have become habitual criminals. As such, they would be a liability and not the asset they are now to society.

This work among the parolees must and will continue. To those who are interested in parole and the attendant problems of the delinquent adolescent, the CYO Hotels point clearly the way toward the final solution of the after-care of the friendless prisoner. The experiment is out of its swaddling clothes—the future outlined as a series of progressive steps toward final public awareness of the parole problem. To quote Father Czyl: "Remember the words of Our Lord upon the Cross, when He turned and said to the good thief, Saint Dismas, 'This day shalt thou be with me in paradise.'"

Views & Reviews

BY MICHAEL WILLIAMS

I HAVE so often done my best to warn my readers against the many superficial and misleading books written by news correspondents who supposedly had acquired "inside information" and were able to reveal "the news behind the news," but books which generally consisted merely of gossip and wild surmise, that it becomes a duty of justice to the practitioners of my own profession not merely to admit the very high value of Edmond Taylor's "The Strategy of Terror" (Houghton, \$2.50), a revelation by a well-qualified American foreign correspondent of the real character of the inner forces now openly operative in the European war, but also most earnestly to recommend its serious study. Like other books by reporters of the international tragedy of our age, it is hastily written; like them it also is stuffed with piquant gossip, which decidedly adds to its readability; but even when its author was scribbling his reports and his personal diary, in the thick of the maelstrom of events, he possessed in his own mind a guiding idea of tremendous importance by virtue of which all his miscellaneous jottings and impressions—and those of his wife: a sensitive and cultured European woman who fully shared her husband's guiding and coordinating idea—are united as parts of an almost appalling study of the theory and practice of the psychology of terror, the real "secret weapon" by means of which Hitler and his associated dictators have mainly won their stupefying victories. This weapon is more potent than airplanes and submarines and motorized troops, indispensable as the possession and ruthless employment of these materials weapons and forces are to the wielders of "the strategy of terror"; because by the expert use of the psychological weapons the will-power of whole nations has been broken or paralyzed before the material weapons of the aggressors were turned against them, so that they themselves could not possibly wield their own material weapons with real effectiveness and force. And because this "strategy of terror" is manifestly making its appearance on our side of the Atlantic, nothing is more important than for Americans to know all they can learn about it.

Edmond Taylor for six years, from 1933 to 1939, was chief of the Paris Bureau of the *Chicago Tribune*. In addition to observing and reporting events and studying the forces behind events in the French capital, he also "covered," as the newspaper lingo describes the reporter's task, all the many international conferences which preceded the international revolution, the rising and spreading of the Hitler central power in Germany, the absorption of Austria—which so enormously enhanced the Hitler power—the Spanish Civil War and the opening phases of the present war. But, to repeat, Mr. Taylor did far more than merely "cover" such happenings in the usual newspaper fashion; no doubt he accomplished that duty to the satisfaction of the powerful paper that employed him and to that of its readers; but also he penetrated below the outer covering of the events to recognize and at least

partly reveal the nature of the forces operating in the world revolution. He begins his painfully fascinating report of his experiences and impressions by saying that "there is one of Europe's battle-fronts no war correspondent has adequately covered: the battle-front of the mind, where ideas and ideologies, propaganda and emotions, clash in ordered ranks, disciplined like soldiers. On this front there is no truce; here war never ends."

His words at once brought to memory other, profounder words written by a great journalist born two thousand years, nearly, before journalism as such appeared: Saint Paul the Apostle. "Put ye on the armor of God, that ye may stand against the wiles of the devil: For our wrestling is not against flesh and blood, but against the princes and the powers, against the rulers of the world of this darkness, against the spirits of wickedness, in the high places." Mr. Taylor is no preacher; nor does his intellectual forays into the psychological battle-ground which he so vividly relates ever quite reach the center of centers surveyed by Saint Paul; and that fact is his book's chief limitation; nevertheless he certainly reaches the frontier of the central, spiritual territory entered by Saint Paul. Mr. Taylor himself would seem to be very close to the recognition of the essentially religious nature of the present world situation; but it is obvious that he uses such words as "religious" and "sectarian" and "Church" merely as non-orthodox, and to him merely convenient, terms by which to indicate the emotional or psychological moods and attitudes and affiliation among political or class opponents which were utilized by the masters of the "strategy of terror," above all by Hitler, in the "war of nerves" which preceded physical war, or accompanied the latter in those cases where the "war of nerves" did not alone suffice. It did suffice in the case of the conquest of Austria and Denmark and Czechoslovakia; it accompanied the physical warfare in Scandinavia and the Low Countries and France; it is raging full blast now in the war against Great Britain; and it is spreading throughout the world as part of that war, or as the preparation for further conquests, physical or psychological.

Of course what Mr. Taylor now reports in journalistic fashion is an old, but frightful, story to readers who have not contented themselves with what newspapers or the radio told them about the world situation. And even now that the newspapers and radio commentators have discovered the psychological—or rather, more truly, the spiritual—nature of the world situation, it is the more sensational "fifth column" stuff, with its movie-scenario spies and traitors and saboteurs galore, that attracts the most attention. That is natural, for in spite of all exaggerations and distortions of the truth, those dangers exist, in our own country as well as in Europe and Asia. But now that Mr. Taylor has acted as the newspaper pioneer in exploring the deeper levels of the forces operating in the world tragedy, even although he does not reach the really fundamental level, which is where objective, absolute Religion, the Catholic Church at the head of its otherwise scattered forces, confronts the organized powers of atheism and materialism, let us hope that newspapers themselves will follow where this brilliant reporter has led the way.

Communications

"MR. PITT AND AMERICA'S BIRTHRIGHT"

Bethlehem, Penna.

TO the Editors: I hesitate to take issue on any point with so distinguished a reviewer as Mr. Joseph Calderon, especially in view of his generous and enthusiastic comments on "Mr. Pitt" (May 17). Nevertheless I must beg leave to dissent in certain respects.

First of all, the linking of America's birthright with Mr. Pitt is not "dragged in." Certainly anyone who studies the concluding years of Pitt's life, his demand for the repeal of the Stamp Act, and his numerous brilliant speeches on behalf of the American colonies and their cause of liberty will not consider that this was a phase of Pitt's career suddenly resurrected and emphasized because of present events. . . .

Mr. Pitt presented himself and England as defending "the liberties of Europe." I agree with Mr. Calderon that there is room for debate on that point, and in the biography of Mr. Pitt I aim to present it as Pitt's view and Pitt's contention, however we might think of it today.

It is not stretching a point, in my opinion, to look upon the Bourbon days of France and Spain as totalitarian. That was the aim and avowed purpose of the Bourbon monarch. It is true that the Church, the nobility, and the commons tried to modify this absolutism in France; but it was a Bourbon king who, when reminded of the rights of the state, said: "L'état, c'est moi. . . ."

I agree with Mr. Calderon that the totalitarian idea did not in the eighteenth century approach the military efficiency of the present day, but the danger of the idea was there. In our present time we have had first the idea and then its rapid growth toward accomplishment. Part of Pitt's genius was in seeing that the strength of the British system would lie in focusing it against absolutism, and he conducted the affairs of the empire on this premise. Then, when the Toryism around George III tried to introduce similar views into England, he had the moral courage, at the expense of personal aggrandizement, to strike at the enemy within and to support the American colonies as true citizens exercising their right of free men.

J. C. LONG.

"BALKAN UNION"

New York, N. Y.

TO the Editors: By his disparaging review of my "Balkan Union" in your issue of June 14, Mr. Roucek has earned some more medals or decorations from Balkan despots. Taking the opportunity to deprecate "the apostles of Streit," the reviewer makes the dogmatic assertion that "the former federations were created by 'blood and iron' [remember that we still remain the United States because of the 'Gone with the Wind' period of our history?]" and that "such federations always become, in the end, belligerent groups of their own—and hence power groups." Have I read this or similar passages in "Mein Kampf" or *Völkische Beobachter*? It certainly summarizes the false theories of the *Macht-*

politik or *Realpolitik*. It is certainly unworthy of an American college professor!

Streit's "Union Now," with all its imperfections and some confusion of terms, is far better than anything published by Mr. Roucek. "Peace in the Balkans" by Padel-ford is better than "The Balkan Conferences and the Balkan Entente" by Kerner and Howard, for it contains fewer misstatements and misrepresentation of facts. Roucek's knowledge of Balkan affairs, as revealed in his published works, is very limited and often faulty.

Being a "Balkan expert," more jealous of his field than Othello of his wife, Roucek has turned my volume upside down, confounding my "premise" with my "conclusion" and decrying my "highly exaggerated premise," meaning, of course, "conclusion." He pontificates that the "brutal consequences, as well as causes, of such ideas [*Macht-politik* ideas] have, unfortunately, escaped Dr. Geshkoff"—having, of course, not read the text to see that more than one hundred pages of the volume are devoted to a discussion of just such "ideas." Roucek says: "We [meaning "I"] regret that Geshkoff has not strengthened his thesis by being more realistic. . . ." But he saw his own name included in the bibliography and graded it "very good." Unfortunately, he has not read the text carefully to see his name (p. 123) and grade it at least "good." The reviewer seems to imagine himself as my teacher. He is a college professor, but he ought to know that "we" [meaning "I"] were, and aspire to be again, a college professor, too.

THEODORE I. GESHKOFF.

THE WAR

New York, N. Y.

TO the Editors: I am glad that you published H. M.'s letter (July 12), for what she had to say about the everybody-is-wrong-except-us attitude findable in so much Catholic journalism needed saying badly. One point, I think, deserves even greater emphasis than she gave it, or than was given it by Michael Williams in his letter to Father Kennedy, and that is that *given* a totalitarian régime, any discussion of confessional statistics is and can only be a red herring. One might as well seek to whitewash some manifestly unethical action by a predatory corporation by showing that a majority of its employees are Catholic as to whitewash nazism by a similar method.

When one reads this statement of a high nazi official: "Formerly, we were in the habit of asking: Is this right or wrong? Today we must put the question accordingly: What would the Fuehrer say?" and the conclusion, "This attitude toward the Fuehrer as well as toward his person is the categorical imperative to which German life must thenceforward conform," we do not have to ask what percentage of those bound willingly or unwillingly by this profound immoralism are Catholics in order to condemn it, for immoralism it would remain if all these persons were Catholics.

In like manner were every Britisher a Jew and half the population of Great Britain financiers, this fact would in no way alter the fact that Great Britain in this conflict is

defending not only her life but the ideals of western civilization.

There are those, it is true, like Laurence Dennis who believe that the First World War was an attempt to preserve a socio-economic structure doomed to pass no matter what attempt be made to preserve it, and it is possible certainly to marshal much evidence in support of this notion, although I, for one, think—and hope—that there is findable for the disease, capitalism, something more human than the disease, fascism. But it is one thing to grasp that grave underlying maladjustments account for both communism and fascism, it is another to use these facts to befog clear-cut moral distinctions laid down in this very matter by the last Pontiff.

Even if Hitler respected the autonomy of the Catholic Church and conscience in Germany, and we know in fact that he has not done so, his flagrant disregard for every principle of truth and fair dealing, his elevation of the lie to a place of honor as an instrument of aggrandizement, would still make him the enemy of civilization.

As for the Anglophobe Irish, alluded to by H. M., who applaud Hitler because an English Hitler named Cromwell massacred many Irish in the seventeenth century, their irrationality is sufficiently exasperating to make one wish almost that Cromwell had massacred all of them, which would have robbed this undersigned one of some essential forbears.

G. R. GARRETT.

Hartford, Conn.

TO the Editors: It is regrettable that all your readers may not have access to the fine article by the Reverend John S. Kennedy, published in the *Catholic Transcript* (May 30), which inspired the severe criticism by Michael Williams in your issue of June 14. . . .

In these days of high temperatures any "method" of presenting truth in America is "dangerously liable to be misunderstood." The American public reads what it wants to read and believes what it wants to believe. This applies unfortunately to a large body of Catholic intellectuals among whom we regret to see an increasing column of leaky and apologetic cathologists. In spite of them, and in spite of the misunderstandings that may result, we still defend the traditional and honest frankness of our writers in presenting truth as they see it.

The point to be considered is whether or not Father Kennedy stated a true case in his comprehensive indictment of American waywardness. Even Mr. Williams seems inclined to agree with the facts. His criticism was directed to the method or timeliness of their presentation.

He is not relevant in his distinction between the acceptance of certain heresies by individual groups and by official (governmental) bodies. "In the United States our groups who teach gross atheism . . . are *not* sanctioned by the fundamental laws and institutions of this nation."

Neither were the same heresies sanctioned by the fundamental laws and institutions in Germany when they were in the process of producing Hitler. Only after he came into power did his heresies become part of the official law.

Mr. Williams overlooks the law of cause and effect, which works automatically in any country, and on this point Father Kennedy is crystal clear: "We commit sins the same in nature but lesser in degree," and he gives an alarming list.

Hitler represents the tragic *degree* to which the same fundamental denial of Divine authority inevitably leads. Our embryonic Hitlers are for the moment polished, entrenched, respectable and tolerant. They tolerate Christianity not for itself but because it is the respectable thing to do. Give them future headway, as we seem to be doing, and it will be presently impossible for members of the Universal Church "to give loyal acceptance" to our *then* fundamental laws and institutions.

Apostasy from God (nature of the sin) led to the personification of anti-God (degree of sin) in Germany. It was as inevitable as any effect from a given cause. If it did not materialize in this age it would have made a delayed appearance in another. Whether we like it or not, the same laws work in the United States: "A bad tree cannot produce good fruit."

Our American tree is showing too many signs of dry-rot. We harbor the same "poisonous agnosticism or sinful educational ideas or immoral doctrines and practices." We have seen them mature in Germany. Should we stand by while they mature in the United States? What, after all, is the duty of Catholic leaders if not to point out the effect in the cause while there is still time to arrest or destroy its tragic development?

REV. ANDREW J. KELLY.

Honesdale, Penna.

TO the Editors: "It is with a heavy heart . . ." said Maréchal Pétain. It is with a heavy heart that I bring myself to ask M. Maritain a question. That question I formulated in *THE COMMONWEAL* last fall after M. Maritain's articles had appeared. Somehow I did not get any answer. Or rather the answers which were published were beside my point. Which only proves that my question was not clearly put. So may I try again?

First of all, am I wrong in assuming that it is not the economic victory of the nazis which bothers M. Maritain, or the majority of *COMMONWEAL* readers, or, for that matter, my own self? Who controls the rubber or oil does not concern us much. First of all because we are not millionaires, and above all because we value spiritual realities much more than things.

What M. Maritain cannot accept, and what I cannot accept, is the enslavement of the spirit. "If Hitler triumphs, what will happen to peoples and to individuals?" So the great task is to prevent Hitler's spirit from winning. It can be done only through much suffering and the facing of death, as M. Maritain says. But once more I ask if it can be accomplished through war. Please do not think for one moment that I advocate a surrender to the invader because one wants to save one's own life. On the contrary. I mean no surrender, ever, as far as spiritual realities are concerned.

What does this mean? It means the invader will come. We will not fight with any weapons. The invader is un-

scrupulous and ruthless. He may take all our land and our money. That is not, I think, ever worth killing somebody or sacrificing one's own life. But the invader will want to coerce us into his way of thinking. He will want us to say "Heil Hitler" and we believe only in Jeanne d'Arc's declaration: "Our Lord first served." The invader will forbid us to call brothers all men, whatever their race or creed. That we are determined to resist, and to resist unto death. For the invader may forgive us our resisting his army by the force of arms, but he will not forgive us the resistance of the spirit. It means concentration camp, tortures perhaps and death. It is a sad, bloody road. It may be a very long road—one, two, three generations. It is an heroic road, infinitely harder to tread than any war path, no matter how ghastly the path.

But, again, I ask M. Maritain if it is not the only way to win in the end, and if it is not the only Christian way.

If this be heresy, I wish M. Maritain would say why. The anxiety and pain which fill the hearts of French-born people should enable us to talk to each other of these tragic problems, that our anguish and suffering may help to bring some light to those who have been spared, up to this day.

CLAIRE HUCHET BISHOP.

The Screen

Of Thee I Sing

HOLLYWOOD again turns its face toward democracy and sings its praises—not only in historical films that show this country in the making, but also in pictures concerned with today. Republic's *"Three Faces West"* deals with refugees from Europe—two in particular: a doctor and his daughter whose Viennese roots don't set well in the Dust Bowl. While this film has neither the simple, awesome tragedy of *"Grapes of Wrath"* nor the psychological subtlety of *"The Wind"* (made in 1928 with Lillian Gish), it tells an interesting though fanciful story and treats with some sincerity the problems of a farmer served a dispossession notice by nature. Dr. Charles Coburn soon finds his niche in the need of the Dust Bowlers for a good doctor. His daughter, Nurse Sigrid Gurie, overlooks living in dust and mud when John Wayne declares his love. Mr. Wayne, a specialist in rough Westerners, improves with each picture and is perfectly cast as the leader of the stricken farmers. When these men fight for their land and lose, they make a trek into Oregon—for them an advance, not a retreat. Although the film's plot gets unduly complicated by the reappearance in Sigrid's life of a former love, now a nazi, and by rebellion of a few men against Wayne's leadership, Bernard Vorhaus has directed its main thesis with feeling and understanding for the farmers. I wish that in real life their problems could be solved so simply.

Mickey Rooney takes a whirl with democratic principles in *"Andy Hardy Meets Debutante."* It all comes about when the Hardys go to New York and Andy, working overtime to meet the No. 1 Deb (Diana Lewis), gets nastily snobbish and disgusted with his father (Lewis

Stone), who is "only a small-town judge." However a visit to Grant's Tomb, N.Y.U.'s Hall of Fame, the Statue of Liberty and a civil court, which treats Judge Hardy with greatest respect, teaches Andy a few lessons about social classes and equality in this so-called democratic country. George B. Seitz has directed the film (which is like the others in the Hardy series with the same wholesome approach to family life) in a slow tempo to make it thoroughly comprehensible for those folk who are going to like its *Innocents-in-New-York* attitude. Andy calls the city a "den of evil—a sink." Perhaps we found it slow because we're getting tired of Andy's super-adult remarks and misused quotations. It is nicely acted—occasionally a little overacted by Mickey. Its high point is Judy Garland's singing "Alone" and "I'm Nobody's Baby."

Democracy has weathered many storms since Maryland was founded in 1634 so that all faiths could live peaceably together. *"Maryland"* pictures a serenely benevolent, horse-loving society which treats Negroes like children. However, the Negroes, especially newcomer Ben Carter and Hattie McDaniel, steal the picture. Its best scene, in which Ben gets religion, patronizingly shows the colored folk in an enthusiastic church meeting and is beautifully sung and lighted in the best "Green Pastures" manner. Technicolor throughout, *"Maryland"* is excellent and Henry King's direction is much better than the thin plot deserves. Fay Bainter and Walter Brennan, two actors who know their business, carry on a mild feud over horses; John Payne and Brenda Joyce, their son and daughter respectively, play around with a love affair. Of course a horse race makes the thrilling and expected finale and ends the feuding.

Five millionaires' going to prison may be news, but the film *"Millionaires in Prison"* is nothing new. It is the same old "stir" stuff and is handicapped by being unable to decide whether it is comedy or straight melodrama. While the audience is mildly amused at the predicament of millionaires' mixing with hardened convicts, the story suddenly takes a serious turn: Prisoner Raymond Walburn, a doctor who tried to be a playboy, uses four tough palookas as human guinea pigs in his experiments with Malta fever. Lee Tracy, in a performance that almost glitters in all this dullness, is the boss convict who is so noble that one wonders how he ever landed in prison in the first place. PHILIP T. HARTUNG.

Books of the Week

Good and Hard

Where Are the Customers' Yachts? Fred Schwed, Jr. Illustrated by Peter Arno. S. & S. \$1.75.

LAST WINTER Mr. Schwed did rather well by himself with a juvenile, "Wacky, the Small Boy," which enjoyed considerable popularity. The author was introduced as a graduate of Lawrenceville and Princeton and as having spent the last ten years on Wall Street. "As a result he knows everything there is to know about children." It was perhaps this witticism on the part of his publishers which led him to write this book.

Let it be said at once that "Where Are the Customers' Yachts?" is much better in its category than was "Wacky." There is nothing that more annoys me than a wisecracking book in which all the wisecracks are just a little bit wet—or corny, if you prefer the adjective. Mr. Schwed has perpetrated no such horror. And those who think Mr. Arno vulgar will find nothing here to change their minds.

In addition to over two hundred pages of thoroughly amusing prose, Mr. Schwed has also provided us with a thesis. That thesis is simple, and probably thoroughly sound. At least it is a very good rule-of-thumb thesis for those who have money to invest and would prefer not to lose it. The thesis is this: no one can be a successful prophet about what is going to happen on the Street; it is foolishness to buy at high prices and sell at low, yet the psychological impulse to commit both follies is so strong that it is almost irresistible. The proper way to count your wealth is by your income, and the relative security thereof, not by the value of your investments at any given moment. All speculation is gambling, just as much as betting on the horses is gambling, except that it isn't as much fun because people won't admit that it is gambling. So the moral is that if you like to gamble, Wall Street is one address to keep in mind; if you want (or have) to invest, your own common sense is as good (and no better) a guide as most investment counsel. And money is still a hard thing to keep. Generally speaking, Wall Street is pretty free of crooks, but it has its share of boneheads. The SEC has helped to get rid of the crooks; there is no known recipe for getting rid of the boneheads. Mr. Schwed clearly rather likes capitalism, and he clearly doesn't like crooks, and he thinks the SEC is a good idea, but just a little vengeful. "Could they not," he rather plaintively asks, "model their procedure and publicity a little closer to that of the Department of Weights and Measures, and a little less to that of the G-men looking for a Public Enemy?" That gives you the line, and a nice one too, even though some will find it terribly lacking in social consciousness, and it is lacking therein. But then, it's a bleak summer, so far.

HARRY LORIN BINSSE.

BIOGRAPHY

Heywood Broun As He Seemed to Us. American Newspaper Guild. Random. \$1.00.

THIS IS a transcript of the many brief tributes to Heywood Broun, alternating with biographical comments, which were spoken at a Broun memorial meeting in New York last Lincoln's Birthday. The tributes range from the oratory of John L. Lewis and kind words by Mayor La Guardia, John Kieran and several others, to the warmer feelings of Edna Ferber, F.P.A., Lewis Gannett, Edward G. Robinson and Heywood's close friend, Quentin Reynolds.

Reynolds injected a bit of hate into the proceedings. He named the only two men who were ever known to hate Broun. As far as this reviewer is concerned you will have to get hold of the book to find out who these two haters are. The book is well worth buying, by the way. Low priced, the running biography is as good a compilation of facts on Heywood's life as is yet available, and the tributes of the notables afford a rather striking idea of how much his contemporaries appreciated Heywood Broun. Proceeds from the sale of the book will go toward a permanent memorial (awards for newspaper work) which the ANG is arranging.

JOHN BRUBAKER.

CONTEMPORARY SOCIAL PROBLEMS

War Propaganda and the United States. Harold Lavine and James Wechsler. Yale. \$2.75

AN EXCELLENT impartial survey of what the propagandists of the belligerent countries did during the first six months of the present war to influence the United States in favor of their separate causes. This sober analysis of foreign propaganda methods and their reaction in this country is very useful to ascertain the difference between what the warring nations want us to believe and the cold, hard facts.

Lavine and Wechsler describe how Goebbels' Ministry of Propaganda is organized and how it is flooding this country with anti-British and anti-Jewish propaganda stamped "Drucksache, via Siberia and Japan." They report on Germany's Transocean News Service, the German Library of Information and the propaganda activities of German-American publicists like Viereck and Auhagen.

These facts have often been revealed. It is more surprising that the authors expose also the British propaganda with the same fairness and objectivity. They carefully describe British attempts to drag the United States into the war by appealing to American sentimentality. They demonstrate how American fiction often worked as an instrument of British propaganda and how British lecturers would influence American public opinion.

In the midst of these voices of propaganda Lavine and Wechsler make a clear-headed attempt to free us from hysteria by methodical propaganda analysis.

C. O. CLEVELAND.

FICTION

Through the House Door. Helen Hull. Coward-McCann. \$2.50.

BROADCASTING studio—Riverside Drive—a flat near Amsterdam Avenue—cocktail time—the ingredients are current and the author knows her people, not very attractive people, but to be met any day on the avenue: a successful woman novelist who supports a younger second husband, a successful publicity man with predatory instincts, a successful radio columnist and her daughter and husband. This latter, Julian, is the only unsuccessful one and the only one worth meeting, but even he has a share of success at the end. The most caustic commentary on American life in the book is the fact that in order to encompass a situation in which divorce would be any problem, the author has been forced to blind Julian. This might seem to stack the cards a bit too heavily against the wife's selfishness, but Mrs. Hull deftly embitters Julian so that he repels Beatrice in a spirit of saturnine independence. Even so we notice that Mrs. Hull does not dare let the handicap of his rival reach the ears of the publicity man. The most hard-boiled male is not as ruthless as a selfish woman. It is, however, as gratifying as it is unusual to have a heroine discover a conscience. Mrs. Hull has a knack for storytelling but rather ostentatiously parades her analytic psychology which has brought her the compliment of being another Mrs. Wharton. Unfortunately she permits her characters to take themselves more seriously than is justified by their inherent cheapness. She has sharp penetration—witness the scene between the trained nurse and the patient—but little humor. "Through the House Door" has no claim to being literature, but those who love fiction will find it a readable story of contemporary upper-West-Side Manhattan.

E. V. R. W.

Ask Me Tomorrow. James Gould Cozzens. Harcourt. \$2.50.

THIS IS a novel that it would be very easy to underestimate, especially at a time like this, when the wrestlings of a vain and ambitious young intellectual with the recalcitrancies of love and livelihood can hardly seem tragic in the midst of sufferings and anxieties all over the world of so much greater moment. The author may be said to have scored a very real success in making this study of a young writer not only actual, but after the first slow-moving chapters interesting. To begin with, Mr. Cozzens's young hero—by no means unique as a representative of the frank and disillusioned generation—distinguishes himself by turning his frankness upon himself. The result is not always pleasant, but it wins our sympathy. There is something sound and delicate in Francis Ellery's very distaste for himself. Even the somewhat adolescent indecency of some of his reflections is a species of exorcism of preoccupations to which he does not lightly abandon himself. The result is a study of a certain type of young man that not only convinces, but wins the reader's sympathy; and in drawing this portrait Mr. Cozzens has displayed very real power to conjure up a whole series of different sorts of people, and to give the flavor of life to a variety of tiny incidents and scenes. The ending comes a little suddenly and inconclusively—a symptom of a certain formal weakness in the structure of the book; but this is distinctly promising work. The author is obviously aware of a good deal more than he has undertaken in this book, and one wonders what he can make of a story with more possibility of action in its conception.

HELEN C. WHITE.

HISTORY

On the Trail of the Eight-Pointed Cross. Elisabeth Wheeler Schermerhorn. Putnam. \$4.00

FEW FEATURES of European life have aroused more ridicule among ordinary Americans than the bewildering array of decorations conferred for social and political reasons. Much of this ridicule has come, undoubtedly, from ignorance of the historical origins of the great military Orders of Knighthood and of the immense service they have rendered to Europe and the Church. Miss Schermerhorn has removed much of the justification for this ignorance by her careful study of the origins and early history of the greatest of the military orders, the Knights Hospitalers of St. John of Jerusalem, later known as the Knights of Rhodes, and finally, and presently, as the Knights of Malta.

The Knights, like nearly every product of the "Ages of Faith," had a very practical purpose indeed. They were to nurse the sick and to shelter pilgrims to the Holy Land and, later, to protect the military outposts of Christendom. They were in the temporal sphere very much like the religious orders in the spiritual sphere. Like them their motive was profoundly religious. They, too, sought personal sanctification, to be achieved by serving their neighbor for the love of God. Their ideal of disinterested and consecrated personal service of the public by those from the highest branches of society was a high and noble one that, even though imperfectly realized, had a profound effect on Europe. For they really were the fine flower of the aristocracy, and their international character made their influence felt in every corner of Europe. They combined the functions of the Red Cross and an international police. The fact that

they lasted for centuries as a powerful force, and that even today enrollment among their number is regarded as a high honor is the best proof of their worth. In the Europe of today, except in Spain, chivalry seems to be of purely academic interest and it is not sentimental medievalism to see in that fact one of the causes of its plight.

It is evident that the author has enjoyed her task, to which she has given many years of hard work. She has provided a fascinating account of the actual administration of the Order and its property, which is based on quantities of detailed and hitherto inaccessible information. Unfortunately Miss Schermerhorn's knowledge of and sympathy with the Knights doesn't seem to extend to the Church, for her otherwise excellent book is marred for Catholics by a gratuitous and very offensive comment on the confessional, on page twenty-two.

FLORENCE D. COHALAN.

Constitutionalism: Ancient and Modern. C. H. McIlwain. Cornell. \$2.50

THE HISTORY of constitutionalism remains to be written and when it is, we will be told, I am quite sure, that it got its toughness and vitality from the Christian soil in which it was rooted. There is no denying the contributions of the lawyers of republican Rome who devised legal safeguards of the rights of the individual against the encroachment of government, but it takes more than legal formulae and the philosophy of stoicism to ensure limitations on governmental activity. The Nazi revolution has taught us the poignant lesson that free political institutions must be informed by a dynamic and sacrificial spirit if they are effectively to guarantee the maintenance of constitutional government. Even in republican Rome there was a tendency toward autocracy, so that by the time of the Empire constitutionalism was overshadowed by an absolutism that deified the Emperor.

In essence constitutionalism is limited government; it represents the reign of law and right instead of arbitrary will and might. Before one can have a constitutional state, one must think of the state in terms of an overriding law, superior and antecedent to positive human laws and flowing from a Superior Being whose commands bind one, and to whose higher law one's laws must conform if they are to be valid. Stoicism gave Cicero a glimpse of this higher law, but its commands were too uncertain, vague and faint and esoteric to be effective checks on governmental power. Constitutionalism was destined to receive its real source of vitality from Christianity. Our Lord's injunction, "Render to Caesar the things that are Caesar's and to God the things that are God's" and Saint Peter's observation, "We must obey God rather than man" were to translate the bloodless categories of Roman jurisprudence into living realities of deep and wide significance, in defense of which men were to lay down their lives. The early Christians were persecuted and put to death as criminals because they dared to place restrictions on the authority of the Roman state in the name of the Creator of all things. We must obey God rather than man in matters belonging exclusively to God. Our Lord's exhortation gave clear divine sanction to the political rule of Rome; but He made it equally clear that that power was a limited one. It could not legislate in matters pertaining to conscience. The blood and lives and fortunes of an untold number of Christians were to be sacrificed, but by the fourth century man's political right to freedom of conscience

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and worship and the right of an organized religious society to limit governmental activity in matters affecting faith and morals were won. Constitutionalism had been reinforced and vitalized by the new Christian awareness of the dignity of man based upon his immortal soul and creation in the image of his Creator and his redemption by the Blood of Christ. Consciousness of the eternal law to which all man-made laws must conform gained in certainty and immediateness and directness among the masses of Christian peoples. Their religion and Church constantly reminded them of its commands, and when in the sixteenth century that religion was to decline and the hold of the Church upon them weaken, Europe saw the rise of absolutism, the return to the autocracy of the Roman Empire. Catholicism was never to regain its old sway over the conscience and imagination of the West but was fated to fight rearguard actions with the growing nationalist and secularist states; the age of concordats had set in.

Concordats were a sign that the Church retained some shadow of its old influence over the citizens of the nationalist state; they also marked retreats on the part of the Church, for she usually gave up some of her ancient rights. Constitutionalism was on its way out. With the elimination of the Church as a check on government, the loss of belief in the dignity and brotherhood of man under the fatherhood of God, the law of God, the Christian spirit of freedom and sacrifice, the institutions that insured constitutionalism remained mere lifeless and ineffective forms. The will to be free had fled from the masses. Hitler realized this; so he violated the concordat his government agreed to with the Church and destroyed the free institutions of Germany. Laws now need only conform to the will of Der Fuehrer to be valid.

In "Constitutionalism: Ancient and Modern" Professor McIlwain brilliantly traces some of the salient principles of constitutionalism in ancient Greece and Rome, in the middle ages, the transitional period from medieval to modern times, and discusses modern constitutionalism and its problems. He holds that the legal limits to governmental power should be safeguarded by an independent court and that separation of the branches of government is not necessary for the maintenance of constitutional government; that on the contrary the doctrine of separation and the indiscriminate use of the phrase "checks and balances" have done great harm to the cause of and obscured the true teachings of constitutionalism. For him the true safeguards of liberty against arbitrary government are the ancient legal limitations and the modern political responsibility of the elected to the people.

JOSEPH CALDERON.

RELIGION

Words of Life. Dom Columba Marmion, O.S.B. Herder.
\$3.00.

THIS COMPACT little volume of brief meditations is arranged for daily use in concert with the two great cycles of the Christian year—the liturgical seasons from Advent through Pentecost and the liturgical cycle of the Saints. Its subtitle is "On the Margin of the Missal." Excerpts are included from a wide range of the works of this noted Belgian Benedictine spiritual writer and guide, principally from his best known work, "Christ the Life of the Soul," and from "Christ in His Mysteries." The publishers are to be commended for producing this book.

E. S. S.

ALFRED NOYES

Poet and Philosopher

writes a prophetic
novel of 1950

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OTHER
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The Inner Forum

AN INTERRACIAL hearing on problems of the American Negro will be held for the second time in three years during the summer session of Fordham University. The meeting, modeled upon a congressional hearing, has a presiding chairman assisted by counsel who questions the expert witnesses, whose testimony is then discussed from the floor. Subsequently resolutions are formulated, publicized and carried out.

For several years the Catholic Interracial Council has been promoting gatherings of this sort in order to propagate at once the social teachings of the Church and knowledge of their applicability to Negroes. This time the witnesses are Father John LaFarge, S.J., long identified with Negro betterment, and George Streater, Negro educator, labor organizer and social student.

The procedure runs somewhat as follows: Father LaFarge exposes the teachings of the encyclicals on the living wage, for example, and notes that nowhere is it stated that Negroes are excepted from the right to a living wage. Mr. Streater is then questioned as to Negro wage scales and current discriminatory practices. Means of eliminating these racial injustices are next discussed, with the audience encouraged to exchange views. After one topic has been thoroughly canvassed, another is taken up in turn, and so on. Special attention is given to the problem of providing proper educational facilities for Catholic Negroes. The Church is emphatic in demanding a Catholic education for every Catholic child, regardless of whether the child be black, white, yellow or red. Yet many Catholic institutions in the North still draw a color line. Thanks to campaigning of the type here described, this form of un-Christian discrimination is rapidly disappearing.

The hearing technique has been used with notable success in a number of Eastern colleges. It has the great merit of concretizing the papal doctrines in an area where every American has ample opportunity for Christian practice, so numerous are the situations where Negroes are made to suffer because of their color. Audience participation is unusually lively and resolutions formed have frequently borne much fruit, as for instance in the establishment of permanent local committees for furthering interracial justice and cooperation.

CONTRIBUTORS

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